Washington Gets A First Hand Report on The Terror in the South, Page 2

# I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. IV, NO. 10 MARCH 12, 1956 101 WASHINGTON, D C. 15 CENTS

**The New Menace Out of Moscow Calls for New Instructions to The CIA**

## On The Need for Restoring Stalinism in Russia

Without our realizing it, Stalin was a stabilizing influence in American foreign policy. So long as he lived we knew where we were; now that he has really passed away, all is confusion. In the debate precipitated here by the new anti-Stalinist line of the 20th Communist Party Congress in Moscow, there is only one point on which Republicans and Democrats agree. The new Soviet tactics are far more difficult to combat.

So great is the alarm that as responsible a Democrat as Governor Harriman last weekend accused President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles of "unwittingly" helping "the Soviet campaign for world domination." In this, New York's Governor merely echoes what most of the Democrats in Congress have been saying since the Secretary appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 24. Ever since they have been joyously seeing a new "20 years of treason," this time to be pinned on the GOP.

### The Old Faith in Russia Crumbles

Until Mr. Dulles appeared that day, the State Department had loyally insisted in the three years since Stalin died that nothing had changed in Russia. Malenkov came and went; the doctor's plot was exposed; Beria was executed; Tito was forgiven—nothing shook the Department's faith in the unchangeable character of the Soviet regime. Then on three successive occasions in the space of five days, Mr. Dulles suddenly struck a new note. He told the Senate committee on the 24th he could see "the yeast of change" at work; "a greater tolerance within" the Soviet sphere; "new forces which may, in the long run, prove irresistible." At Philadelphia on the 26th he spoke of "a notable shift in Soviet foreign policy," of "powerful liberalizing trends." He said we can no longer "assume fatalistically that there can be no evolution within Russia or that Russia's rulers will always be predatory." At press conference on the 28th he talked of "a very considerable burying of Stalinism" as perhaps marking "a first installment toward a Russia that will be a decent member of the society of nations."

This was so startling a change in Mr. Dulles that one can only say it is fortunate for him that he is not a Democrat. True, he managed to create the impression that the current revision of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow was really brought about by the theoretician Leonard Hall and the Old Bolsheviks of the Republican National Committee. He warned against "guile" and "evasion," and he flew off to talk in Karachi like the old Dulles about the need for ever greater military force to meet the same Red peril. But confidence has been shaken. If Krushchev and his colleagues can have this much effect on as veteran an anti-Communist crusader as John Foster Dulles *even while they are still protesting their devotion to Communism,* what will happen if they go further with the process of what Mr. Dulles described on the 24th as "conforming their system more closely to ours?" Is it, perhaps, not a mistake to encourage this process?

### How Keep Them From Relaxing?

The repercussions are world-wide. On the one hand we appeal abroad for German rearmament, and for the establishment of SEATO armed forces; we prod the British and French, we warn against "relaxation" as we did in the days of Truman and Acheson. On the other hand, the Secretary of State, for whatever motives and on the basis of whatever strange theories, declares that Russia is changing, and says it may change further for the better. If this be true, our allies and proteges will ask, why not negotiate, ease the cold war, slow down the arms race, give us relief from its burdens? How combat that question when President Eisenhower himself goes on with his Bulganin correspondence and, however vaguely, does make some reduction of arms seem possible? How can the high brass and the aviation lobby keep pumping up arms appropriations, urging the need for more planes and longer range missiles and bigger bombs if Krushchev and his colleagues grow more "liberal" and entice Eisenhower and Dulles further into talks?

True, all is not yet lost. The Second International has slammed the door on the Third; it will have nothing to do with Fronts, Popular or United, unless the Russians first begin to free their satellites. But it is too soon to cheer. What if Moscow (as one Czech exile has already warned) lures Socialist emigres back to Czechoslovakia with the promise of political freedom? The Vatican is still firm against Godless materialism, but what if Krushchev now feels the Revolution secure enough to offer the Church freedom in Eastern Europe for a Concordat? Who knows how far the Russian Communists may go—they are by nature extremists even in moderation. If they have managed to make so much progress with a first few steps toward a more liberal regime, what would happen if they really took the plunge? The old dark suspicious Stalinist Russia was easily contained; it contained itself. This new Russia is beginning to soften up the Republicans.

The new menace out of Moscow calls for a complete change in American policy. "Liberationism" must be revised. We can still seek to restore Roman Catholicism and capitalism in Poland—but further east the Voice of America must change its signals, the CIA its operatives, the balloons their message. What we need in Mother Russia is the restoration of old fashioned 100 percent Stalinism. The anniversary of Stalin's death may go uncommemorated in Moscow but how sadly he is missed here at the Pentagon and on Capitol Hill!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**1400 Lobbyists for Civil Rights Stage A National Assembly With Revival Fervor**

# Washington Gets Accounts At First-Hand Of Terror In The South

By Marvin Caplan

For awhile it looked as though nothing could be further removed from the injustices in the South than the conference called in protest of them.

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP and chairman of this National Assembly for Civil Rights, delivered the keynote address. As he read through a strong indictment of Southern wrongs, the delegates who filled the Interdepartmental auditorium in Washington and stood in the aisles at the foot of its immense, gilt-daubed columns, listened in respectful silence. They applauded about four times.

The very size of the meeting—nearly 1400 delegates from 35 states, representatives of 50 national organizations—and the trappings: the photographers thick as fireflies about the speakers stand, the blinding glare from the lights banking a movie camera, the microphones, were all an insulation that made it hard for any speaker to convey the pitiless terror that confronts Negroes in lonely Southern towns.

At the crowded press tables, the reporter for the *Washington Post* fingered Wilkins' prepared text and turned back to the comic section of a rival paper. The Associated Press man sat and sketched a lady delegate in an eccentric hat.

Then three "men from the trenches"—as Wilkins has called Negroes in the South—came before the audience and spoke. They came as witnesses to a court of inquiry. George Hunton of the Catholic Interracial Council interrogated one, Shad Polier of the American Jewish Congress another and Joseph L. Rauh of Americans for Democratic Action the third. Bulbs popped, the cameras whirred but the awful dimensions of the South's injustice began to appear.

## Cross-Burning In Elloree

L. A. Blackman, president of the NAACP in Elloree, S. C., told of the economic reprisals against him and 35 other Negroes who petitioned the school board to begin integrating schools. He and his two sons had been operating a general contracting business.

When the White Citizens Council ordered him to sign a paper recanting his stand on schools, he refused. After that, "supply houses ceased to sell me any material for cash." Under the relentless pressure his two sons pulled out and left. "Now I'm selling newspapers, the Afro-American and Jet magazine." The KKK threatened him. "They burned a cross and got up on a platform and told 200 colored folk and 100 white: 'L. A. Blackman has got to leave Elloree. L. A. Blackman has got to go.'" What happened then? asked Hunton. "I'm still in Elloree!"

Then young Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, one of the indicted leaders of the Montgomery, Ala. bus protest told the familiar story of the movement. The objective, he said, is no longer a fairer and more courteous form of segregation on the buses. It is the end of segregation on all public transportation in Alabama. The protest leaders have brought a suit to such effect in Federal court. To explain this change in policy he told the story of a man who sold puppies one day for 25 cents apiece and raised the price the next day to 50 cents. "How come the price has gone up?" an old woman asked him. "They're still the same puppies you had yesterday." "Yes," said the man, "but today their eyes are open."

## Last Man On The Register

Gus Courts, president of the Belzoni, Miss. NAACP came last to tell what happened to the 94 Negroes of the 17,000 in his county, who finally became registered voters. When they tried to vote they were forced off the register one by one. Only Courts and the Rev. George Lee refused to remove their names. They killed Lee and told Courts, "You're next." "I said, 'I'm gonna be just like him and die a hero.'" He was forced out of the store he ran but he opened a new place across the street.

Last Nov. 25 someone stuck a gun through the window and shot him in the arm, side and stomach. His family and friends visited him in the hospital and told him the man who shot him had sworn to shoot him again if he recovered. He jumped out of bed, started getting into his clothes and said, "Get me back to Belzoni." As he struggled with members of his family he suffered a heart-attack. He is still the only Negro in his county with his name on the voting register.

In the course of the recital the audience was swept with just that unifying emotion one experiences in small churches in the South. "Lord, Lord," delegates murmured when Abernathy spoke. And when Courts said, "They told me if you go up to Washington, Sen. Eastland take care of you," a deep and choral, "no suh, no SUH!" swept the hall. At the very end Autherine Lucy was introduced and the delegates rose in a great wave crying, "Speak, speak!" But she only smiled shyly and retired from the stage.

Once in the evening there was a glimpse of something dark and divisive even within the ranks of the warriors for civil rights. In telling of the time he was given 10 days to leave his store, Courts said, "Man I'm renting from is a Jew." Many of the white delegates were Jewish and a hurt silence seemed to follow his remark. "But he was more favorable to you than the others, I think you said," Rauh broke in and Courts acknowledged that. It was a tiny flaw. Any needed corrective was supplied, perhaps, by Patrick Murphy Malin, of the ACLU. The final speaker gave a swift review of the situations which confront various minorities throughout the country and exclaimed: "This is an American problem. Not merely Negro, or Southern, but a human problem."

## Eastland Cordial But Evasive

That was Sunday night. On Monday and Tuesday the delegates did the real work of the conference. They visited their congressmen and lobbied for pending civil rights bills, asking support, particularly, for legislation to protect the right to vote and to protect security of person. Gus Courts and the Mississippi delegates visited Sen. Eastland and asked him to support the bills. They reported, he was cordial and evasive, though he did say that even as Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee he couldn't keep the bill from the floor.

On Monday night, in the Grand Ballroom of the Willard Hotel, delegates cheered and booed a rowdy set-to between Republican Congressman Hugh Scott and Democratic National Committee Chairman Paul M. Butler, in which each disparaged the civil rights record of his opponent's party. From the applause it sounded as if the audience was predominantly Democrat. However, there were a great many cries of "What about Eastland?" when Butler spoke. He chose to ignore them.

If one thing emerged clearly from the exchange and from the visits to the Hill it was that valuable as lobbying is, the place where civil rights will finally be won is in each delegate's own community.

### Nobody Mentioned The Braden Case

Andrew Wade, the Negro veteran whose home in a white section of Louisville, Ky., was bombed, and Carl Braden, who drew a 15-year prison term for helping Wade, were not invited to the Civil Rights Assembly.

Lewis Lubka, one of the six white persons indicted with Braden on charges of "sedition" came as a visitor. He and four others stood outside the auditorium Sunday night and distributed literature on the Braden case. "Just to remind people," Lubka said.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**Neither Republicans nor Northern Liberal Democrats Helped Morse and Lehman**

# The Senate's Apathy About Eastland Does Not Bode Well for The Negro

The scene in the Senate the day it approved the appointment of Eastland to succeed Kilgore as chairman of the Judiciary Committee indicates little interest in the Negro's struggle for equal rights. Knowland as Republican leader supported the appointment on the ground that the majority should have the right to pick committee chairmen but he did not feel it necessary to balance this by saying one word in criticism of Eastland. Except for Kuchel of California, the party of Lincoln sat silent as the Senate's most violent advocate of white supremacy was named chairman of the committee which supervises the Federal courts. And Kuchel merely rose to say that he agreed with Morse that "interposition" was unconstitutional.

### Eastlandisms

"The Negro race is an inferior race."

"Let me say frankly that in my judgment the CIO and the PAC are Communist organizations."

"New York for all practical purposes is a Communist State."

"Our Supreme Court has been indoctrinated and brainwashed by left-wing pressure groups."

"I was maneuvered [after 1950] . . . into the chairmanship of the Civil Rights Subcommittee. . . . And ever since then the CIO and these organizations have been yapping and yapping that I was arrogant and high-hatted with them, and so I was; and they said that I broke the law, and so I did. . . . Do you know what happened? Why, for the 3 years I was chairman, that committee didn't hold a meeting."

*(As quoted to the Senate by Morse and Lehman.)*

The Northern Democrats were no better. Morse and Lehman waged their fight against Eastland without a word of support from the Northern liberals; neither Neuberger nor Humphrey nor Douglas came to their aid. Only Barkley of Kentucky felt compelled to say that though he was voting for Eastland he thought it "unfortunate and regrettable" that a Senator should encourage defiance of the Supreme Court.

The scene did not testify to Eastland's popularity since there was just as much silence on the other side. Only one Southerner, his Mississippi colleague, Stennis, rose to defend Eastland and he was significantly restrained. The best that can be concluded is that there is no Southerner in the Senate today who is disposed to defend the kind of irresponsible racist demagogy in which Eastland has been engaging. The award of chairmanships by seniority is a custom rather than a rule. Whether the custom should have been broken in Eastland's case is a matter on which men may reasonably differ, but the difference will depend on how deeply they feel the specific issue involved. Basically the Senate does not care enough about the Negro's struggle to break the custom. But imagine the Senate's reaction if seniority were about to elevate a radical to the Judiciary post! Morse's was a most statesmanlike argument but it had no effect; neither apparently did fear of a Negro reprisal at the polls.

The final touch is Eastland's decision to retain the chairmanship of Judiciary's Internal Security subcommittee. The Senator who is doing most to subvert respect for law will thus continue to direct the hunt for "subversives"—the Senate champion of the White Citizens Councils, our greatest menace to internal peace and security, will be safeguarding "internal security." This is certainly Mad Hatter government.

### Ironic Footnote

During the fight against Eastland, Morse put into the Congressional Record a memorandum prepared by the Senate parliamentarian about the three occasions on which the Senate failed to vote committee chairmanships by seniority. The memorandum did not give the circumstances.

On checking back, we found that the first occasion provides an ironic contrast with the Eastland case. In 1870 the Republicans at Grant's urging punished Charles Sumner of Massachusetts by deposing him as chairman of Senate Foreign Relations, a post he had held for ten years. Sumner, friend of the abolitionists, was as much a symbol of Negro emancipation as Eastland is of Negro oppression; he had earned Grant's enmity (and Frederick Douglass's praise) by blocking the annexation of Santo Domingo, a Negro Republic.

In 1924 a coalition of Western Progressives and Democrats ousted Senator Albert B. Cummins of Iowa as chairman of Interstate Commerce, a post he had held since 1919 on the ground that he was too favorable to the railroads at the expense of the farmer. In 1925 the Republicans ousted Brookhart, Ladd and Frazier from committee chairmanships because they supported La Follette for President in 1924.

## The Matusow Recantation Finally Reaches The Supreme Court

The Matusow affair has reached the Supreme Court. The Court has agreed to hear the appeal of Clinton E. Jencks. The appeal is a twofold one. It asks the Supreme Court to reverse his conviction for falsely swearing a Taft-Hartley non-Communist oath affidavit and to reverse a District Court's refusal to grant him a new trial on the basis of Harvey Matusow's recantation. Matusow was the only witness produced by the government who testified that Jencks was a Communist after April 28, 1950, the date on which the affidavit was made.

Matusow testified during the hearing on the motion for a new trial that in none of his contemporaneous reports to the FBI did he identify Jencks as a Communist. The court was asked to order the FBI to produce those original reports but refused. Among the questions on which the Supreme Court agreed to pass was whether a Federal judge under such circumstances could properly refuse to subpoena those reports.

Jencks was convicted on two counts, for falsely denying Communist "membership" and "affiliation." The defense claimed that the trial judge erred in not defining both terms strictly. The Court agreed to review this and to hear argument on whether the trial judge erred in refusing to instruct the jury that the testimony of a paid undercover informer for the FBI "should be approached with caution and weighed with great care."

In appealing, counsel for Jencks called the Supreme Court's attention to the decision in which the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit on February 15 reversed the similar non-Communist oath conviction of A. A. Fisher. One of the grounds for the reversal was the failure of the trial judge to define "membership" and "affiliation" precisely. Another was the judge's refusal to order the FBI to produce in court the actual receipts signed by its chief informers in the case, Harley Mores and his wife, Mazie. They claimed that they received expenses only; the defense claimed that the original receipts would have shown that they informed for profit.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**The Real Reason Dulles Thinks Arms for Israel Would Not Help Peace**

# Watch for Nixon to Bow Out and Knight May Take His Place

**Nixon, bitterly disappointed,** will bow out; they're telling him he's a young man and has plenty of time left in which to become President. . . . The Eastern seaboard Eisenhower Republicans may undercut Knowland by picking Governor Knight of California for Vice-President. . . .

**A strong ticket,** i.e. Eisenhower without Nixon, is counted on to cut down the leverage of discontent. . . . It will be harder for farmers (seeking high rigid supports), Negroes (asking for action on the South) and Jews (fearful about Israel) to exercise pressure on a ticket which expects to win overwhelmingly. . . . It is worth keeping in mind that a lop-sided victory would be bad. . . . . Most of the progress made under Eisenhower was made after the Democrats took over Congress. . . .

**When Dulles says** that giving arms to Israel would not help maintain peace what he means is that he hopes fear of Arab rearmament may soften up Israel for the kind of territorial concessions Nasser wants. . . . The Egyptian ruler has already said that given the Negev, linking Egypt with Jordan and cutting Israel off from the Gulf of Akaba at Elath, he would make peace. . . . This is the "brink of war" gamble Dulles is playing in the Middle East; it underestimates Israeli courage. . . .

**In Amman in 1947** I had a long talk off the record with Glubb Pasha; there can be no doubt about his anti-Zionism. . . . What got Glubb into trouble is that he is a competent soldier. . . . He was unpopular with the Foreign Office before 1948 because he thought the Jews would *not* be overwhelmed militarily by the Arabs and he seems to have become unpopular with Jordanian hotheads for much the same reasons: note the King's complaint that he advocated falling back behind the Jordan river in the event of war with Israel. . . .

**What the British** are saying privately about Jordan is quite different from what they are saying publicly. . . . In British eyes, Jordan will be shifting from the British to the American orbit if Jordan gives up its British subsidy for a subsidy from Saudi Arabia. . . . The only place Saudi Arabia can get funds is from Arabian American Oil Company; the Foreign Office blames the State Department for allowing Aramco to permit Saudi to draw on royalties several years in advance. . . . Aramco advance royalties, according to the British, have provided the cash down payment on Egyptian arms purchases from Czechoslovakia, fomented the anti-Baghdad Pact riots in Jordan, bribed Syrian legislators and "subverted" the loyalty of Sheikhs in oil-rich Buraimi. . . .

**The British see** all this as a further step in pushing their oil companies out of the Middle East, as they were squeezed out of their monopoly position in Iran, an operation in which Herbert Hoover, Jr., figured and which led to his appointment as Under Secretary of State. . . . The French fear we are engaged in a similar operation in North Africa and will take that area over as our own sphere of influence when the French are out. . . . This was the real meaning of M. Pineau's speech to the Anglo-American newsmen in Paris and its veiled reference to the "other powers" waiting to take over. . . . The French regard the British plight in the Middle East with I-told-you-so pleasure since Britain eased them out of Syria in the same way. . . . But U.S. oil companies cannot take over in the Middle East without demonstrating that the U.S. is "really" anti-Israel. . . .

**Seen at the Senate cafeteria:** peacefully lunching together Senator Eastland and his ex-committee counsel Sourwine, who was supposed to be running from the Senate from Nevada. . . . That was a publicity phoney designed to smokescreen his discharge in the wake of the press investigation. . . . When Senator Welker at the Eastland committee hearing last week told William H. Hinton he was sorry Hinton didn't come back from Red China ready to work for the committee, Hinton turned the laugh on Welker by saying he was ready to do so anytime they launched an investigation of Mississippi. . . .

**The transcript** of the Goldie Watson contempt trial before Judge Schweinhaut shows that Prosecutor William Hitz, Jr., argued that the Un-American Activities Committee could if it chose summon every American in the country before it and ask him whether he was or ever had been a Communist. . . . Decision has been withheld pending the Circuit Court's ruling on the Watkins and Flaxer cases argued here last week. . . . The right of Congressional committees to engage in "exposure" is involved in both but little attention has been paid Abe Flaxer's case. . . . As president of the now defunct United Public Workers he refused to give the House committee the names of its 3,000 members. . . . His grounds: no relevancy and breach of trust. . . .

**Journalism Note:** The *New York Times* last week gave a distorted picture of the fake elections in South Vietnam; failed to carry a line about the significant change in Dulles's Senate Foreign Relations testimony admitting the sale of U.S. warplanes to Saudi Arabia (see our last week's issue) and deleted (in its main edition) the tell-tale remark in a dispatch from Guatemala that Castillo Armas' new land reform would not affect "the big commercial holdings," i.e. United Fruit Co.

**Senator Humphrey said** Ike is running again because he's afraid to retire to his farm so long as Benson is Secretary of Agriculture. . . .

***Resurrect That Old Friend Politically By Giving Him A Gift Subscription to The Weekly***

**I. F. Stone's Weekly,** 301 E. Capitol, Wash. 3, D. C.
**Please renew (or enter) my sub for the enclosed $5:**

Name .....

Street .....

City .....Zone.....State.....

**Enter gift sub for $2 (6 mos.) or $4 (1 yr.) additional:**
3/12/56

(To) Name .....

Street .....

City .....Zone.....State.....

**Shall we send gift announcement? Yes ☐ No ☐**

*I. F. Stone's Weekly*
Room 205
301 E. Capitol St., S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

NEWSPAPER

Entered as
Second Class Mail
Matter
Washington, D. C.
Post Office

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED